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I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. IV, NO. 6 FEBRUARY 13, 1956 WASHINGTON, D. C. 15 CENTS

Bad Day for The White Race: Alabama and Algeria

February 6, 1956, was a bad day for the white race. In Alabama and in Algeria, its better elements surrendered to its worst. In Alabama, the State University gave in to hoodlumism and under a shower of eggs and tomatoes expelled its first Negro student. In Algeria, the new French government of the Socialist Guy Mollet gave in to hoodlumism and under a shower of tomatoes and manure accepted the resignation of Gen. Georges Catroux as Minister Resident in Algeria. In the eyes of a world two-thirds colored, watching those demonstrations, the supposedly more civilized white race bespattered itself.

The issues are both complex and simple. The complexities arise because it is impossible to correct one wrong without committing another; the *colons* in Algeria, like the whites in Alabama, fear being swamped in a rising sea of color. The simple, common and fundamental characteristic of the crisis in both places is white resistance to equality because with equality the whites will no longer be able to live off the cheap labor of the blacks and browns. The colored in both places exist in a stage only halfway from slavery.

Peoples and nations are made glorious by those men who are willing to stand up against their own in defense of justice for minority elements. Milton opposing his own Puritans, Voltaire and later Zola defying the French mob, Gandhi living with the untouchables—such are the incidents which give a people honor in the eyes of mankind. But where was Southern chivalry when Miss Autherine Lucy arrived in Tuscaloosa? Worse than the ignorant mob was that scene her first day in class—"She sat alone on the front bench." How wonderful it would have been for the South, if a few students, a handful, two or three, even one, had deliberately sat down beside her as a demonstration of human kindness and contempt for the mob mind The world would have known that in the section which produced Jefferson and Madison the old spirit still flickered.

Perhaps the greatest problem of our time, greater than the transition to socialism, is peacefully to effect the change from a world in which the white race is dominant to one in which it will itself some day be in danger of minority status. The treasures of civilization must be passed on to the half-educated and the primitive. New loyalties which can weld men together irrespective of color must be forged. Fears must be faced and hatreds prevented. In this perspective the British Queen's colorful procession through self-governing Nigeria is a happy portent.

But the way in which the French are losing all hold on half-barbaric North Africa, where they could still perform a civilizing mission, and the way our South drifts to a new outburst of race hate and race war, foreshadow calamity. That French mob cut the ground from under the French-educated Arabs who had still hoped for cultural ties in an equal French union. That Tuscaloosa mob, and the cowardly way the University and Governor Folsom gave in to it, is doing the same to the moderate elements in our own Negro community. The longer that responsible white leadership delays the unpopular step of enforcing educational integration which is now law, the harder it will become, the stronger the mob will grow. This lawlessness is a monster best killed in its cradle. In this country the Tuscaloosa outburst strengthens the case for the Powell amendment; better no school aid at all than aid to those who defy the law.

The Same Old Squeeze Play On Israel

The real pattern of events in the Middle East becomes visible if one looks closely at what happened in Ottawa the day John Foster Dulles released his letter giving a polite brush-off to the 40 Republican Congressmen who made an appeal for arms to Israel. That same day the Canadian government lifted its embargo on arms exports to the Middle East.

This means that while the U.S. maintains an undeclared embargo on arms to Israel, Canada is joining Britain as a supplier of arms to Egypt and the other Arab States. Significantly, the Canadian action was taken only a few days after Eden's visit. Britain recently doubled the amount Egypt is allowed to draw from its frozen sterling balances in London, and these expanded payments are being used for arms purchases in Britain. Canada, after the Eden visit, decided to get in on the business. Ostensibly either side can buy in Canada, but the lifting of its embargo releases shipments whose relative dimensions are revealing. The Egyptians get 12 more trainer planes, the Israeli $30,000 worth of 25-pounder ammunition.

In 1948 there was a similar squeeze play on Israel. The U.S. imposed a unilateral arms embargo on the Middle East which shut off American arms to Israel, while Britain supplied the Arabs in the expectation that they would easily destroy the new State.

The difference between the present situation and that in 1948 is that then Israel was able to obtain arms in Czechoslovakia. This time Britain and Russia are actively competing with arms for Arab friendship at Israel's expense—and the latest Soviet contribution to the "relaxation of international tension and the cause of peace" is to offer arms to half savage Yemen at the far end of the Arabian peninsula. Is Moscow trying to build socialism by financing a *jihad?* How is peace furthered by taking steps which may set the Middle East ablaze? Moscow makes its world peace policy questionable by the dangerous game it is playing at the most inflammable point on the globe, the one spot where a local conflagration would be most difficult to contain.

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Lyndon Johnson's Honor System: A New Way to Run An Investigation

"If Any Senator Has Been Bribed, Will He Please Stand Up and Confess"

A charming suggestion was made by Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson in the Senate during the last stages of the vote on the natural gas bill. He and Minority Leader Knowland—fraternally bipartisan on this issue, too—had introduced a resolution for a select committee to investigate Senator Case's charge that a $2500 effort had been made to influence his vote. The resolution was so drawn as to restrict the select committee's jurisdiction to this one instance and no others. Senator Hennings pleaded with Johnson to accept an amendment which would broaden the select committee's authority to cover any other "improper attempts . . . to influence the vote of any Senator" on the natural gas bill.

It was at this point, in rejecting the Hennings amendment, that Lyndon Johnson made a counter-proposal which the newspapers seem to have overlooked but which deserves to be preserved in the handbooks on how to conduct a Senate investigation. "If there is a member of the Senate," Johnson said, "— and I believe most of the members are present in the Chamber—who has been the subject of an attempt at improper influence, I should be very glad to have him rise in his seat at this time to divulge the information. We would then be very glad to include his episode in the authority of the resolution."

World's Biggest Bargain

The most striking aspect of the Case affair is how little it costs to acquire a friend in the Senate. Here is a body which votes on disbursements of some 40 billions of dollars a year in government funds. Bills like the natural gas measure can create private fortunes overnight; it is said that this particular bill will add 600 millions a year to the revenues of the natural gas companies and enhance the value of their reserves by 12 billions. Yet 25 one hundred dollar bills in an envelope may swing pro or con the votes that determine these billions. Archimedes—or whoever it was who discovered the principle of the lever—would have been delighted with this example of how a small force strategically applied may move a large body in politics as well as mechanics.

Unfortunately neither the Republican nor the Democratic leadership in the Senate seems in a mood to pursue such philosophical observations. Judging by the way the natural gas bill was pushed through the Senate unabashed, and the celerity with which Vice President Nixon ruled that the "select committee" had priority in questioning Senator Case, there must be a lot of hidden levers in that Senate chamber. Johnson and Knowland are fighting hard and skilfully to prevent a fuller investigation by the Senate subcommittee on privileges and elections which Senator Hennings heads. What they fear is indicated by a *Washington Post* editorial suggesting that the President ought to veto the natural gas bill since it would be most embarrassing if it later were determined that its passage was tainted.

The natural gas interests were cheated of their prize by a Truman veto in 1950 and the Case revelations on the eve of passage by the Senate this year must have driven them into a frenzy of last-minute activity. It was hardly discreet to force a vote in the Senate *before* investigating, nor to indulge as the Senate leadership now is doing in a transparent effort to sidetrack the Hennings subcommittee. The gas interests and the leadership fear Hennings. He has been campaigning for a long time to revise and tighten the Federal corrupt practices act. S 636, a bill for this purpose by Hennings, was reported to the Senate last June but never came to a vote. A minority report was made to the Senate from the Rules committee opposing this election law reform on the ground that it "may violate the Bill of Rights," particularly "the constitutional provision guaranteeing the rights of free speech and peaceable assembly." Among the four names signed to this Paul Revere-ish attempt to warn the Senate and the country of this danger were those two redoubtable and vigilant friends of civil liberties, Senators Jenner and McCarthy. We welcome them to the fold.

Let's All Go Into Gas

Mr. FULBRIGHT (Replying to a charge of monopoly). In addition to the more than 8,000 competing producers in the industry . . . is it not a fact that every citizen of the United States is free to undertake to find additional sources of gas?

Mr. PAYNE. Of course, that is correct. . . . This field represents a wide-open opportunity. . . .

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I think the Senator from Maine made the point very well . . . anyone who thinks there are fabulous profits to be made in this business is free to enter it any time he wishes.

—U.S. Senate, Jan. 27 (Con. Record, p. 1268).

DOWNTRODDEN WORKING CLASS NOTE: Walter Reuther at Miami Beach lifted a curtain on the present state of the American labor movement when he complained that the rival building trades sent "eight Cadillacs filled with pickets" to the Packard plant in Detroit in a jurisdictional dispute with the UAW. . . . We wonder whether the UAW will retaliate by sending *its* pickets in Rolls Royces. . . .

FILE FOR FUTURE TROUBLE NOTE: "The Nationalists have been more aggressive in looking after their water interests in the Matsu area."—Vice Admiral S. H. Ingersoll, U.S. 7th Fleet Commander in an interview at Taipeh on the present situation in the Formosa straits, *New York Times*, Feb. 7. The Admiral's phrasing—"water interests"—is captivating. The principal Nationalist interest in the waters off

DOSSIER ON A DANGEROUS FELLOW: Some gumshoe agency which compiles dossiers on suspected citizens is worried about Dr. James R. Killian, Jr., president of M.I.T. whom Eisenhower recently appointed chairman of a commission to keep tabs on the Central Intelligence Agency. Data on the sinister fellow has been fed out to Fulton Lewis, Jr. This shows that in 1947 Dr. Killian opposed establishment of a State Un-American Activities Committee and a State "Attorney General's list" of subversive organizations in Massachusetts; that in 1948 he opposed a bill to bar Communists from teaching in that State; that in 1949 the *Daily Worker* quoted Dr. Killian in the Struik case as saying that it would be a violation of academic freedom to remove an instructor for his personal political beliefs; and that in 1954 he testified on behalf of J. Robert Oppenheimer at the special AEC Personnel Security Board hearing. "Some members of Congress concerned with security hearings," Mr. Lewis said, "are beginning to wonder." We're beginning to wonder too, but pleasantly.

WORLD'S MOST AGILE TURNCOAT TURNS AGAIN: Schacht, who helped betray the German Republic to the Nazis, and now claims he tried to betray Hitler to the Americans, indicated to Edward C. Burks of the *Baltimore Sun* in an exclusive interview (Feb. 6) that he is turning Eastward. Schacht thinks the Reich should "go east" for reunification and talk directly with the East Germans as well as Russia. His comment on his own people was sour. "The Germans," he told Burks, "always feel what they're ordered to."

BENEFICENT INFLUENCE OF NIXON IN PRESERVING LATIN AMERICA AS BASTION OF FREEDOM: Our glorious Vice President had hardly left Brazil when the police were ordered to confiscate all copies of the Communist newspaper, *Imprensa Popular*, for an article *indirectly* criticizing the new President, Dr. Kubitschek.

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A Text No White Newspaper Thought Important Enough to Print

2500 Americans Ask Hennings Committee to Hold Hearings in Mississippi

Though a growing crisis in which blood has already been shed faces this country over integration, most white papers in Washington and the U.S.A. dismissed as "colored people's news" (and therefore worth only a few buried paragraphs) the presentation of an historic petition on February 3 to Senator Langer. The petition, signed by 2500 persons in the 48 States, including 316 educators and 124 ministers of all faiths, asked the Hennings subcommittee on constitutional rights to hold hearings in Mississippi. The petition was presented by Methodist Bishop Edgar A. Love of Baltimore (the Baltimore Sun alone gave the story full coverage), and among the signers was the famous Prof. J. B. Rhine of Duke University who thereby demonstrated that an interest in the extra-sensory did not blunt ordinary sensitivity to justice. The text follows:

We appear before you to present a petition signed by some 2,500 persons who reside in all 48 states of the Union. The signers of this document, acting as individuals, urge this committee to conduct, as soon as possible, investigations into the tragic denials of constitutional rights now taking place in the State of Mississippi.

The rights and liberties guaranteed by the United States Constitution belong to all living American citizens, regardless of race or color, not merely to white citizens living today and Negro citizens who may be born at some indefinite future time. In the State of Mississippi, a dominant faction is defying the Constitution of the nation, flouting the authority of the Supreme Court, perverting state institutions of justice, condoning the murder of Negro citizens who attempt to exercise their civil rights, and driving fairminded white citizens into frightened silence by economic boycott or the menace of physical violence.

They are doing this in contempt of the declaration underlying our national independence, that all men are created equal, endowed by their Creator with inherent and unalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. They are doing it in disregard of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments of the Constitution, which declare that no State shall deny to any person the equal protection of the laws, and that the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race or color. They are doing it in defiance of laws of Congress for the protection of the civil rights of citizens, and of Supreme Court decisions upholding those constitutional rights.

Aren't Negroes People, Too?

It is said in defense of these systematic violations of basic law and human rights that the relations of the races are a matter of "the people of Mississippi" to deal with. But who are the people of Mississippi? Forty-five per cent of them—986,000—are Negroes, and the principal purpose of constitutional guarantees is to protect minorities. If past custom is to furnish the rule of present and future conduct, 45 per cent of the people must continue to forego rights guaranteed to them by law, in order that 55 per cent may perpetuate wrongs in violation of law.

Thousands of white Mississippians desire justice and fair treatment for the victims of this oppression. But these white citizens are condemned to silence by the same lawless forces that have turned the whole apparatus of state government against the colored people. How can the Negro citizens of Mississippi hope for protection through the machinery of state government, when the legislature of that state is undertaking to assess penalties against all persons, including agents of the F.B.I., who are found to be "interfering with state law under the color of federal authority"?

What confronts us in Mississippi, with active efforts to spread the infection to other states, is not a simple continuation of past abuses. It is an insurrection against the Constitution and laws of the United States. Says Bouvier's Law Dictionary: "Any open and active opposition of a number of persons to the execution of the laws of the United States, of so formidable a character as to defy, for the time being, the authority of the government, constitutes an insurrection, even though not accompanied by bloodshed and not of sufficient magnitude to make success possible." By legal definition, the uprising in Mississippi is an insurrection, even apart from the violence which accompanies it.

"I Tremble for My Country . . ."

"With them life is cheap—a Negro's life being less than nothing—not even worth consideration. With them the laws are made, not definitely to be obeyed, but to be either respected or flouted and trampled underfoot as suits their fancy. Like the woozy, Saturday night, small-town bully who is so souped up that he wants to take on the whole town, Mississippi (and South Carolina, if you please!) has placed itself outside of and above all ethics and law. . . . The lot of Negroes in Mississippi is becoming more hopeless and helpless every day. I beg this committee to go into the state of Mississippi for the sake of Negroes now marked for slaughter. . . . Did not Thomas Jefferson say, 'I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just and Justice does not sleep forever'?"

—Mrs. Andrew W. Simkins, NAACP State Secretary for South Carolina, to the Hennings committee.

We Live in A World Two-Thirds Colored

The problem is indeed a local one, not made so by the specious appeals to state sovereignty and sectional customs, but because the wrongful conduct and the resulting suffering are local. It is likewise a national problem, involving the capacity and willingness of Congress, the Executive and the Judiciary to exercise their constitutional powers. And it is finally an American national problem in the world arena, for the way Negro citizens are treated in Mississippi and other parts of the United States will be watched closely in the world community that is two-thirds colored and one-third white.

Faced with these blended issues of simple morality, global reputation and the integrity of our government, we appeal to the Congress of the United States not to stand aloof. Least of all, we believe, ought the Judiciary Committee of the Senate to stand aloof when the Supreme Court of the United States is under systematic attack, not for any misdeed, but for courageously upholding the equality of Americans under the law.

"The Congress," says the concluding sentence of both the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, "shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." Through hearings in Mississippi, the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights can determine whether new laws are needed to deal with the crisis in civil rights. It can stimulate more effectual enforcement of existing federal statutes. And the committee can do more. By throwing light upon the dark happenings in that state, it can marshal a local, a sectional and a national public opinion which would encourage the fairminded white people of Mississippi to exercise their own constitutional liberties and help to establish the orderly supremacy of law. What we are witnessing in that state and elsewhere is not the rise of new forces of oppression but the desperate flare-up of ancient prejudices which the American people, North, South, East and West, are casting out of their minds and hearts.

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A Striking New Proposal from Peking the American Press Played Down or Ignored

Chou En-Lai Offers Chiang An Amnesty and Direct Negotiations

Last July 30 in a speech at Peking, the Communist Chinese Premier Chou En-lai said in discussing Formosa "If possible, the Chinese Government is willing to enter into negotiations with the responsible local authorities of Formosa to map out concrete steps for Formosa's peaceful liberation." This was the first hint that Chou might be willing to negotiate with Chiang. But at the time it was left ambiguous by the phrase, "local authorities." Did this mean Formosan local authorities or did it mean the Nationalists?

This question has now been answered by Chou En-lai in his speech of January 30, but little attention has been paid to the answer in the American press and no American newspaper provided the text or even portions of it. The American press treated the January 30 speech simply as a threat to take Formosa by force if necessary. But the January 31 issue of the *London Times* in a dispatch from Formosa gave the text of Chou's offer to Chiang.

"If the Kuomintang military and political authorities come to see the inevitable trend of developments," Chou En-lai said, "and are willing to liberate Formosa by peaceful means, help their great motherland to eliminate the tension and bring about her complete unification, they will not only perform a meritorious service to their motherland but also contribute to Asian and world peace. The Chinese people and the Chinese Communist Party stand for unity of the entire nation against its external enemies."

Chou Suggests "Bipartisanship," Too

Chou went on to make clear that he was not merely asking members of the Kuomintang to defect but offering a truce between the two parties against the United States as they had once had a truce against Japan, and an earlier alliance against the warlords and for Chinese unification.

"In China's history," Chou declared, "the Chinese Communist Party has twice cooperated with the Kuomintang. During these two periods of cooperation the Communists and the Kuomintang members fought shoulder to shoulder against imperialism. Even during China's revolutionary war the Communist Party, while engaged in the war of liberation, never once suspended its efforts for peaceful negotiations."

With this went an unconditional offer of amnesty. "All those who want to take the road of peaceful liberation for Formosa," Chou promised, "no matter whom they may be, or how serious their crimes were, will be treated leniently by the Chinese people, without questioning their past. All those who perform meritorious services in the liberation of Formosa will be duly rewarded by the Chinese people in accordance with the degree of their merits. All those who come back to the motherland peacefully will be provided with appropriate jobs by the Chinese people."

The *London Times* seemed to feel that this was the most important part of the Chou speech, for its headline was "Peking Wooing Chinese Nationalists" while the *New York Times* headline was "Chou Asks Vietnam Talks; Threatens War for Taiwan." The American press, responsive in this to State Department guidance, is disregarding a maneuver which (1) will impress neutral Asia and (2) marks a sharp new departure in the campaign Peking radio has been waging to undermine Nationalist morale.

We Overlook National Pride

Responsible quarters in Washington have been more worried about this campaign than one would gather from the slight attention given it in the press. We have underestimated nationalist feeling in the Formosan situation; Chinese, irrespective of how they felt about Communism, have been proud of China's military successes in Korea and her emergence as a major power in world diplomatic councils. The natural longing for home, the feeling that Chiang's cause is hopeless, and a distrust of American intention have all contributed to an eating away of Nationalist morale.

The new speech marks a sharp departure in that for the first time Peking asks not defection or what the Communists call a "united front from below" but direct talks with Chiang. There must be quite a few people on Formosa who believe that Chiang would be better off to make terms with Peking than to pursue a course in which an aging Nationalist army will die on the vine or succeed only in plunging their common country disastrously into war.

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